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ABSTRACT

This skit is presented as an example of a creative writing assignment that combines humanities with social studies. The author recommends that high school teachers make such assignments for themselves and their students. The teacher is given the same assignment because brushing up on rusty composition skills and direct experience in creative historical research will enhance the teacher's ability to evaluate the end product of the students. (Author/DJB)

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GANDHI IN THE 1930's

AN EXAMPLE OF CREATIVE HISTORICAL RESEARCH

By

Gerald Douglass Bailey

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## FOREWARD

It has been said that composition or writing is one of the more humanistic academic talents taught in our public schools. Yet the social studies teacher who scans through the latest 'projects' will find minimal emphasis on this type of activity. Creative writing in historical research might be considered a maverick or oddity in our high school social studies program today, but if social studies teachers believe cognitive inquiry to be desirous, then some attention should be given to this activity. Creative historical research can be molded to suit the needs of the teacher and students, and can occur anywhere in the social studies program whether it be in our regular social studies programs, independent study, or self-directed study programs. It need be nothing more than an assignment as the following paper on Gandhi exemplifies. The assignment would be given with the following directions: (1) Research and write a historical narrative on a man living in India between the years 1930 and 1940, (2) The paper must be written in first person narrative, (3) The creative research must be documented with primary and secondary sources, (4) The creative research must be handed in at the end of the semester (5) The length and quality will depend on how much time you wish to spend. In addition, the teacher is given the same assignment because brushing up on rusty composition skills and direct experience in creative historical research will enhance the teacher's ability to evaluate the end product of the students, and more importantly, the teachers must do themselves what they would ask of their students.

The gains to be derived from creative historical research are mutiple. Understandings, skills, and appreciations become quite apparent in the product turned in by the student. Moreover, this activity reveals to the student that composition in history is made up of language that was once thought to be stubborn and unmalleable in other classes. Creative historical composition in the social studies classroom is only another vehicle for the teacher who wants his students to 'turn on' who have previously 'tuned out'.

CHARACTERS:

- Seer: Little man of Indian origin who conducts seances. He is little known among spiritualists, but he is very adept at communicating with spirits. He is small and mystical in appearance and has piercing blue eyes.
- Gandhi: Appears as an apparition at seance. He is known throughout the world as Mahatma Gandhi and spiritual leader of India. (1869-1948)
- Juddhi  
Douglass: Curious student of history that is seeking the truth about Gandhi and his relations with the British during the 1930's.
- Seer's  
Assistant: Extremely tall man who obeys every command of the seer and is helpless without his master.

ACT I, SCENE I:

The seer's place of business is in the rear of an apartment building on "Y" Street in a nameless city in the middle west. The section of town is middle-class America. Most apartments in this area look the same with their gray-black finish. This building contains four stories and a black fire-escape in the alley which is the only means of ascending and descending the seer's apartment.

A moderately dressed man in his early twenties is ascending the fire-escape late at night. He appears to be nervous and self-conscious about his presence in this neighborhood. Small beads of perspiration begin to appear on his forehead. As he reaches the top of the fire-escape, he knocks on the strange door leading to the seer's place of business. The word "truth" is etched deeply into the woodwork of the door which gives off a peculiar glow. As the man enters the one room apartment, a tall man takes the stranger's arm and leads him to the seer who is dressed in a loin cloth and is sitting in front of a small circular table. The seer is mumbling some words over a crystal ball when the seer's assistant interrupts his master to introduce the young man. The seer looks up without speaking and the young man is seated.

Seer: What is your desire? (With a deep mystical voice and appears to be looking through Juddhi rather than at him).

Juddhi: Er--Gandhi--in the 1930's--ah--his relations with the British.

Seer: It can not be done. He has never been reached on this continent at this time of year.

Juddhi: (Now with a faintly hysterical appeal.) I must know the truth. Our honorable and great British historian is at a loss. I was commanded to find out all--the truth.

Seer: (Hesitating now until Juddhi digs deep into his jeans and places a shiny fifty-cent piece into the hand of the seer.) So be it! Let us hold hands around the crystal ball and think together. (Extended silence) Gaaaanddhi! (Extended silence) Gaaannnnndddhiiii! (The lighting in the room becomes dim and the air becomes dense. A small white fog appears which transforms into a distinguishable image of Gandhi on the wall in front of the seer and Juddhi.)

Gandhi: I am here. What is it you desire?

Juddhi: I am a student of history and need your help. Ah--your true feelings, thoughts, and deeds in your dealings with the British in the 1930's. My British historian has commanded it.

Seer: (to Juddhi) Hold tightly, we do not wish to lose communication.

Juddhi: What things must we keep in mind when we talk of your relations with the British?

Gandhi: My relationship with the British between 1930 and 1940 is difficult to assess because it involves the passionate and perpetual quest for truth. Keep in mind that I am not a God or a saint.<sup>1</sup> I lived the greater part of my life in the most liberal and exact effort to obey the teachings of Bhagavad Gita.<sup>2</sup> I was an individual who sought to achieve self-realization, to see God face to face and to attain Moksha.<sup>3</sup> My ideology and tactics with the British as well as with my peers stressed truth, non-violence, non-cooperation, self-control, and compromise.<sup>4</sup> In my political role, I sought to repair wounds of self-esteem in Indians with cultural integrity and national coherence.<sup>5</sup>

Juddhi: What was the significance of the Indian National Congress's declaration in December of 1929 and Pledge of Independence in January of 1930?

Gandhi: These two events record the course of action that the Indian National Congress and myself undertook to gain freedom for India. We had decided that the time was ripe for Swaraj. The one year grace period demanding freedom under Dominion Status had expired and the British were still hedging on the nature and degree of Independence. The horizon did not reveal any change in British attitude toward India. They thought us incapable and unqualified to govern ourselves.<sup>6</sup> Inside, I hugged the hope that India's freedom would come non-violently through a gentlemanly understanding with Great Britain,<sup>7</sup> but the Congress was becoming uneasy. My relationship with Lord Irwin during this period convinced me that he was a man with broad vision and a sense of fairness,<sup>8</sup> but back in London, Lord Reading was blocking Irwin's attempts of providing Dominion Status at the upcoming Round Table Conferences. In the next few months, I knew that the struggle with Britain had to take a new course of action. This meant Satyagraha. But how? Where? When? The responsibility weighed heavy on my shoulders.

Juddhi: What is Satyagraha?

Gandhi: Satyagraha means truth or soul force. Truth in thought, speech, and action, and it is devotion to this truth which is the sole reason for our existence. The pursuit of this truth is bhakti (devotion). What is truth? To me, God is truth and love. God, in turn is ethics and morality.<sup>9</sup> The quest of this truth involves self-suffering. This quest is the path that leads to God; therefore, there is no place in it for cowardice or defeat. If death occurs, this only becomes the portal to life eternal.<sup>10</sup> Satyagraha has been the rule and bread of my life,<sup>11</sup> and was first coined in South Africa where many of my ideas were fixed.<sup>12</sup> Yet, the roots of Satyagraha are found farther back in my life because my father taught me my first lesson in non-violence (Ahimsa) which is an essential ingredient of Satyagraha. It was in this context that passive resistance, non-violent non-cooperation was born.

Juddhi: Do you mean that this was your answer to Indian independence?

Gandhi: It was not quite that simple. I had to search for a form of civil disobedience

that left no opening for violence in our dealings with the British. I thought furiously day and night and could not see any light coming out of the surrounding darkness. Nehru warned me of the possible consequences of our actions.<sup>13</sup> Depression, labor unrest, and restlessness were all around. I assured him that the means must determine the ends in the search for truth. No one takes to the wrong path long--he stumbles and is re-directed to the right place. I waited for the 'inner-voice,' the voice of God. At last, I saw the light. I should set India to making salt.

Juddhi: What was the purpose of the Salt March?

Gandhi: It was a journey from Ahmedabad to Dandi with seventy-eight of my followers. It was there that I made salt from the sea on the beach. It was a signal to the whole nation in symbolic defiance to the imperialistic British. The people were to join me in this act, and this civil resistance took the form of doing everything which the (Salt) Ordinance was to stop. My ambition was no less than to convert the British people through non-violence, and make them see the wrong they had done to India.<sup>14</sup> I did not seek to harm the British in this act. I hoped to turn the moral tables on the English by suggesting that aggression was not the path to mastery of those with self-control, and non-violence was the path to mastery of those without self-control.<sup>15</sup> I used this March to emphasize other necessary steps to Indian independence. I exhorted them to wear Khadi, abjure alcohol, abandon child marriage, and give up drugs. Most important--break the Salt Law when the signal came. It was at this time that I urged women to participate in this civil disobedience movement. They had potential of great courage and immeasurable spirit of self-sacrifice. They were the same qualities I saw in my mother who had such a great affect on my actions as a child and adult.<sup>16</sup> This act of women involvement had enormous consequences for the politicalization of the Indian woman.<sup>17</sup>

Juddhi: What was the British reaction to the Salt March?

Gandhi: The British used violence and India stood by Brahmacharya (self-control) which made England powerless and India invincible. Do not confuse Brahmacharya with celibacy alone. It also means one who extends self-control to anger and aggression.<sup>18</sup> It is my firm belief that if I had only lived a life of unbroken Brahmacharya all through my life, my energy and enthusiasm would have been a thousand times greater. I would have been able to devote all myself to the furtherance of my country's cause.<sup>19</sup> Remember, my friend, that those who act in lust can not be guided by duty to nurse and minister. The police brutality was great<sup>20</sup> and finally I was arrested. My heart ached because the Government did not fight in a civilized manner,<sup>21</sup> but this reinforced my belief that Satyagraha was the only answer for India. Civil disobedience tactics were those of internal strength and the British tactics were those of weakness. Satyagraha was not the way of the timid or cowardly, but it was the way of the brave ready before death. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute.<sup>22</sup> I am sure my imprisonment along with 60,000 others was more than embarrassment for the British. It literally paralyzed Irwin's administration in India. In my spiritual state, I have often wondered what I would have done if the British would have refused to arrest me. Public life may have had to be abandoned and would have severely impaired my effectiveness. Later that year, the first Round Table Conference convened in London without Congress

representation. I was encouraged that MacDonald and Irwin saw fit to seek Congress representation for the second Round Table Conference. I felt that the Salt March was an Indian victory, but back in London, men such as Churchill did not seem happy over our progress in India.<sup>23</sup>

Juddhi: Didn't the Delhi Pact play a great role in Indian history?

Gandhi: The Delhi Pact or Gandhi-Irwin Pact was an agreement to suspend civil disobedience and support Congress's participation in the second Round Table Conferences. In return, the Viceroy agreed to release prisoners and allow India to manufacture salt. This Pact caused much distress to my friends, Nehru and Patel. They were discouraged because it appeared to be a British victory, but I saw it as a basis for a new relationship between Britain and India.<sup>24</sup> I had never forgotten the lessons I had learned of compromise in South Africa. I had learned the true practice of law and had learned to find out the better side of human nature to enter into men's hearts.<sup>25</sup> Nehru despaired, but he could never understand by background of thought and objectives. I told him, 'one step is enough for me, I do not try to peep into the future or to have a clearly conceived objective before me. Look at the means and the end will take care of itself.'<sup>26</sup> The Pact represented a thread of compromise. It was the way to avoid conflict and find areas of agreement that eventually lead to India's independence.<sup>27</sup>

Juddhi: What were you trying to accomplish at the second Round Table Conference? Was this to lead to a better understanding between India and Great Britain?

Gandhi: Having secured the thread of compromise at the Delhi Pact, I hugged the hope that the discussion in London would bring us closer to independence. I am sure that Nehru felt that my presence in London would give the British a chance to bring me down a peg or two,<sup>28</sup> and he was extremely pessimistic about the outcome of my journey. Being the sole representative of the Congress, I probably appeared as a lonely figure with alien dress and even more alien ideas, but I was eager to discuss with those who disagreed with me. I chose to stay at Kingsley Hall where my 'own kind' lived. The British were terribly curious about my dress. My only answer was, "You people wear plus-fours, mine are minus-fours." The first meeting of Parliament and myself revealed an immense gulf between philosophies.<sup>29</sup> I then decided that the importance of these eighty-four days was to inform Great Britain of India's plight and to clarify what I meant by independence of India. All I wanted was an honorable partnership . . . a partnership between England and India . . . I aspired to be a citizen not in the Empire, but in a Commonwealth, in a partnership . . . an indissoluble partnership, but not a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another.<sup>30</sup> The Conference failed because Indian nationalism still lacked the strength to unite what religion, provincial loyalties, and economic differences separated. I could not accept separate electorates for the Moslem delegation. In an independent India, Indians must vote as Indians for India.<sup>31</sup> I did go back to India empty-handed, but I did not compromise the honor of my country<sup>32</sup> or my religion. Do not judge me too critically because the important outcomes of the Delhi Pact and the Salt March were great. India had a new feeling--freedom of spirit.

Juddhi: What happened next?

- Gandhi: I set sail for Paris in route to India and met several friends such as Romain Rolland and Mussolini. By the time I reached India, the Government had begun a new attack on India with more ordinances and arrests. Willingdon (the new Viceroy) was less inclined to parley than was Lord Irwin, and the Cabinet in Parliament took a dim view on India's progress. Before long, I was arrested and was placed in Yeravada Jail--only a few weeks ago I had been a guest in Buckingham Palace. It was in August of that year that MacDonald's Communal Awards were announced and I knew that I would have to resist with my life.
- Juddhi: What were the Communal Awards and how did they affect your strategy in dealing with the British?
- Gandhi: The MacDonald Communal Awards meant separate electorates for the untouchables or depressed classes. I felt that separate electorates would only perpetuate the lines between the untouchables and the rest of the community.<sup>33</sup> MacDonald did not understand my objectives and even less of my philosophy mirrored in this dissent. His intentions were honorable and he saw this award as a double protection for the special constituencies--a way to safeguard the untouchable's rights.<sup>34</sup> But this separate and double representation meant only statutory separation. Members of Congress were perplexed with my declaration of perpetual fast unto death (abstinence of food of any kind save water with or without salt and soda). Nehru and Congress saw my fast as a side issue for political freedom and a religious approach to a political issue.<sup>35</sup> But to me, there was no distinction between politics and religion. The Communal Awards were a threat to my religion and my experiment with truth. It was a threat to my personal salvation. When I say that I prize my own salvation above everything else . . . it does not mean my personal salvation requires a sacrifice of India's political salvation, but it implies that the two go together.<sup>36</sup> I equated service to India with service to God, and by the same token, considered any neglect of India as a sin.<sup>37</sup> If I had permitted the MacDonald Communal Award, it would have meant religious suicide and political disaster. Thus, the fast unto death was my solution to the dilemma.
- Juddhi: Did the civil disobedience movement suffer from your decision to fast unto death? Why did you choose fasting as your tactic?
- Gandhi: The fast was intended to sting Hindu conscience into right action. My appeal was not merely to Hindus and Indians in general but to the British conscience as well. My tactics of fasting (penance) were not new to India. I used this method to renew my inner purity and to give myself strength to affect external events around me.<sup>38</sup> Fasting curbs the animal passion within, and I considered it one of the means to the end for self-restraint.<sup>39</sup> Fasting pained those around me. I used it to evoke the better element in the opponent, rather than the worse, as violence would do.<sup>40</sup> It was the way to vindicate truth, not by inflicting suffering upon the opponent but upon oneself. I do not believe that the civil disobedience movement was impaired because this was an experiment in non-violence and truth. This reflected the very reason why I entered politics to establish non-violence's validity. If separate electorates were allowed, the perversion of untouchability would kill the soul of Hinduism and poison the soul of the Harijans.<sup>41</sup> The Poona Pact served as an example of the power of Satyagraha.

Juddhi: Did you actually need to fast unto death to reach an agreement with Ambedkar and MacDonald?

Gandhi: Probably not, but the opportunity to strike a blow to untouchability was ripe. I regarded untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism.<sup>42</sup> The essential statement of the Poona Pact was that no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of birth. This statement was the essence of accomplishment. Belief in untouchability was sinful and my work for the Harijans in this battle would help eradicate the sin that hung over India for so long. I believed the move to kill untouchability had a large lesson for the British. I had often told the English that if they were the friends and servants of India, then come down off your pedestal, cease to be the patrons, demonstrate your living deeds, and become our friends. If you believe us to be your fellow Englishmen, to be your equal, then give us independence. My act showed that India was willing to eradicate her sins. We were ridding ourselves of a sin that was as devilish as the English system of government was thought to be. The fast was the means to the end, and the Hindu temples were thrown open to the untouchables. A spirit of reform, penance, and self-purification swept the land. Truth was vindicated once again.

Juddhi: Did that end your fight for the Harijans?

Gandhi: No. In February of 1933, I started the Harijan Sevak Sangh, a society to help Harijans and began a weekly publication called the Harijan. It was during this time that I fasted in search of self-purification but became seriously ill. Release from prison was granted because the British did not want a 'dead Gandhi' in their prisons. Consistently, Willingdon refused to grant my interviews and I decided to renew the civil disobedience campaign. The Government resisted my actions, and I was arrested again. Tired of the 'cat and mouse game,' I became absorbed in the Harijan activities again and toured every province in India. I knew that my work with the Harijans was crucial. I understood the fundamental fear of the Indians and the poor. I knew that Britain judged them as lacking.<sup>43</sup>

Juddhi: Why did much of your political activity cease after 1933?

Gandhi: I felt my work in helping India to independence could be done outside the political structure. I was engaged in a bigger battle in helping India acquire national coherence and an identity. I wanted India to become an independent nation by showing Indians a course to courage, self-respect, and political potency.<sup>44</sup> My actions after 1933 were a matter of compulsion--compulsion to help the poor. The vast difference I saw between the rich and the poverty stricken masses was due to the causes of foreign rule and exploitation.<sup>45</sup> Thus, God was to appear in my actions to rid the villages of poverty. I gave aid to the farming population and to the non-agrarian aspects of the village. I urged the villages to take to self-production through the revival of hand weaving and spinning.<sup>46</sup> The manufacturing of Swadeshi would improve morale and general living conditions. I have been chastised for this act, but remember that I had no desire to raise the standards of the masses beyond a modest competence because higher standards and leisure may have led to self-indulgence and sin.<sup>47</sup>

Juddhi: What were your political plans after 1933?

Gandhi: In September of 1934, I announced my retirement from Congress to leave it in the hands of the younger generation.<sup>48</sup> Nehru and other leaders sought my advice and approval concerning the British actions and especially the Government of India Act of 1935. Although, I favored the implementation of the Government Bill of 1935, I realized that this would only transfer a small portion of authority in the Indian's hands. The delay of implementation was due to the efforts of the die-hard imperialists and Willingdon and Linlithgow's lethargic efforts gave me much pain. Nehru, Congress, and even I soon lost faith in British intentions. I still held much power in Congress at this time, and urged participation in the elections of 1937. I saw this as an opportunity to use Congress representation to organize the country for total independence.<sup>49</sup> Yet I was troubled by the leadership of Congress. Much corruption of power and greedy office seekers was in abundance. I could no longer undertake civil disobedience because though there was enough non-violence in the masses, there was not enough among those who had to organize the masses.<sup>50</sup>

Juddhi: What were your thoughts about the international crisis between 1935 and 1940?

Gandhi: My faith was bright in impenetrable darkness in these years. I saw the second World War approaching and envisioned it as a greater horror than the first. This greater horror prevented my from becoming a self-appointed recruiting sergeant that I was in the last war. It was my hope that the Abyssinians would have adopted the attitude of non-violence. What would Mussolini have done if the Abyssinians would not cooperate? There seemingly inactivity would have been much more effective than their course of action at that time. I was also touched by the tragedy of Czechoslovakia and the German Jews. I offered a solution to the Czechs in October of 1938. I wanted to speak to them because their plight moved me to the point of physical and mental distress. 'Refuse to obey Hitler's will,' I said, 'and perish unarmed in the attempt. In so doing, though I lose the body, I save my soul, that is my honor.'<sup>51</sup> I urged the Jews to undertake Satyagraha. 'they were a compact, homogeneous group and had world opinion behind them. By adopting non-violent non-cooperation, the German Jews could have scored a lasting victory over the German gentiles in the sense that they would have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity.'<sup>52</sup> I knew that they would reject my ideas, but I had to offer them. I knew no other course.

Juddhi: What were your thoughts about entering into World War II?

Gandhi: On September 1, 1939, the Nazi army invaded Poland and England took us to war by proclamation. My heart was heavy when Lord Linlithgow summoned my presence for a discussion of the events. I was convinced that Herr Hitler was to blame for the war. Hitlerism meant naked, ruthless force and he had reduced it to an exact science with scientific percision. Congress saw it as an opportunity to demand independence in return for mutual defense. I was sorry to see Nehru and Congress adopt this attitude. I was alone in believing that support to Britain should only be in non-violent terms. However, I supported Congress's statement after much bargaining. It was a departure from non-violence but my faith was that it was only a temporary departure. The end of the 1930's was a sad period and I waited for the 'inner light' to come again.

Seer: Ahhhhhhhhhhhhhhh! (Slumps down to the floor in a pool of sweat and the apparition vanishes from the wall.)

Seer's

Assistant: Please remove yourself. You can not receive any more information. My master is weak and can help you no more.

Juddhi: Thank you, I hope the honorable English historian will be pleased with my information. Thanks be to the seer and to Gandhi. (Descends the fire-escape and blends into the people walking on "Y" Street.)

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Ronald Duncan (ed.), Selected Writings of Mahatma Gandhi (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Vincent Sheean, Mahatma Gandhi: A Great Life in Brief (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Mahatma Gandhi, All Men Are Brothers (Place de Fontenoy: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 1958), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, The Modernity of Tradition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>6</sup>Nicholas Mansergh, The Commonwealth Experience (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 247.

<sup>7</sup>Louis Fischer, The Life of Mahatma Gandhi (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1950), p. 259.

<sup>8</sup>Subhas Chandras Bose, The Indian Struggle, 1920-1942 (Netaji Research Bureau. Calcutta: Asia Publishing House, 1964), p. 218.

<sup>9</sup>Gandhi, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>10</sup>Duncan, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>12</sup>Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965), p. 122.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>14</sup>Fischer, op. cit., p. 266.

<sup>15</sup>Erik Erikson, Gandhi's Truth on the Origins of Militant Nonviolence (New York: Norton, 1969), p. 224.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>18</sup>Rudolph, op. cit., p. 207.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>20</sup>Nehru, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>21</sup>Bose, op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>22</sup>Mahadev Desai (trans.), An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth, by Mahatma Gandhi (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1927)p. xiv.

<sup>23</sup>Fischer, op. cit., p. 277.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 278.

<sup>25</sup>Desai, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>26</sup>Nehru, op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>27</sup>Rudolph, op. cit.

<sup>28</sup>Nehru, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>30</sup>Bose, op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>31</sup>Fischer, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>32</sup>Homer A. Jack (ed.), The Gandhi Reader: A Source Book of his Life and Writings. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), p. 281.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>34</sup>Fischer, op. cit., p. 308.

<sup>35</sup>Nehru, op. cit., p. 109.

<sup>36</sup>Rudolph, op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>37</sup>Erikson, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>38</sup>Rudolph, op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>39</sup>Desai, op. cit., p. 419.

<sup>40</sup>Rudolph, op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>41</sup>Fischer, op. cit., p. 309.

<sup>42</sup>Duncan, op. cit., p. 169.

<sup>43</sup>Rudolph, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>45</sup>Nehru, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>49</sup>Fischer, op. cit., p. 341.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 342.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 345.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 347.

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